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## THE AMERICAN.

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### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.  
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IT IS pleasant news we get from the Philippines this killing of men with whom we have no righteous quarrel, men fighting for independence and liberty and, as a corollary, for we are not fighting barbarians or savages whom we can use as targets for our bullets without danger to ourselves, the killing and maiming of our own brave sons in pursuit of this un-American game. The daily roster of our dead and wounded that strikes the eye as published now in lengthy columns in the daily press brings ominously home the cost of imperialism and throws a pall over many communities. To know that for each of our dead and

wounded several Filipinos lay stiff in death brings us no comfort. If our dead had fallen that wrongs might have been righted, that the blessings of liberty might be extended, that a people might be uplifted we could bear our losses with stoical spirit, even welcome the sacrifice. But when our soldiers fall in pursuit of imperialism, fall not in extending liberty, but in denying it, we grudge the sacrifice.

And the best defense of our fighting the Filipinos that can be offered is that we are shooting them to save them from themselves, that if left to themselves they would not enjoy the blessings of liberty, that for the masses of those people independence would prove a curse, and that to insure to them prosperity and happiness we must restrain their liberties, deny them the independence that we, not they, feel would be a curse. They feel it would be such a boon that to attain it they are ready to fight and die for it, but, poor fellows, they know not what is good for them. This is the argument of the imperialists from the standpoint of morality, it is always the argument of the hypocritical oppressor. He despoils not for his own good, but for the good of the people he despoils, who indeed pay him poorly for the service he renders them, the service of stripping them of the surplus fruits of their labor.

THE one great redeeming feature of the news from the Philippines is the accumulated proof therein reported that American troops, though probably holding life more highly than any troops in the world, falter not in the face of death. As to the military situation and the advance on Malolos it appears that nowhere have our troops been checked, but pushed irresistibly forward, despite the persistent resistance of the Filipinos, despite natural obstacles of no mean order, despite fatigue. But crushing defeat has not been inflicted upon Aguinaldo's army, before our advance it has retired, turning for resistance from point to point, suffering, it is said, great losses in killed and wounded, but losses probably much magnified beyond actual figures in our estimates. And as we have approached Malolos the Tagals have removed their capital to San Fernando, further to the northward. So it appears that the Filipinos are not inclined to give in with the loss of Malolos, their first capital, but to retire toward the great northern plains and prolong the struggle, contesting our every advance, hoping to weary us of the work of subjugating them to our rule.

Further be it said that an Englishman recently passed through the province of Pampanga reports that the Filipinos have abundant stores in food, that they are manufacturing large quantities of ammunition, that their principal depot is at Bacolor in the above province. So there are evidences that the war is not about over but just begun. As the *London Daily Telegraph*, a paper true to old liberal maxims, pertinently remarks: "All the accounts show that the Americans will have to bear their full share of the 'White Man's Burden.' The experience the United States are gathering to-day is that of every power which has sought to found an empire beyond its own shores."

WITH somewhat bitter sarcasm Senator Mason, of Illinois, declares that in opposing our Philippine policy he does not pose as much of a moralist, declares he prefers to meet the advocates of that policy on their own materialistic plane, passing lightly over the shedding of the blood of America's sons to place our yoke upon a colored race as of little concern, holding the dollar as cheaply gained even when purchased with blood, even though bearing the stamp of injustice, oppression and suffering piled upon our fellow men. For our part we regard only that dollar as cheaply gained that can be won by industry, earned from nature, purchased with labor and in a way that not only will not cause loss, injury, suffering to any fellow mortal but confer benefit upon mankind. The dollar gained in other ways is not worth having; riches gained in other ways will cost a people in the gaining more than they are worth. We cannot grow rich and powerful by robbing one another, we can grow poor and weak for the robbing will discourage industry and destroy that harmony and union and contentment and patriotism that is the strength of nations, sow the discord that is their weakness. Nor can we profit by robbing another people, for the robbing will cost energies that could better be employed in the production of wealth, and the unearned spoils cannot fail to breed torpitude and moral corruption, a torpitude and corruption from which decline and decay are inseparable. So from a materialistic point of view alone we should not enter upon a career of national robbery. We have enough robbery at home and sapping our strength without looking outside and to foreign conquest.

IF THERE was anything out in the Philippines worth the stealing, declares Senator Mason, I could possibly bring myself to look upon the stealing with some composure, my eyes so enamoured of the glamor of the spoils that I could look over and beyond any qualms of conscience. But what is there to steal that will not cost more to take than it is worth? Nothing. For every dollar taken from the Philippines several will there be sunk. We cannot tax those people heavily enough to reimburse ourselves for our expenditures, for to do so we would have to tax from them more than all that they produce. And this taxation would be of short duration for soon there would be nothing left to tax, no property, aye, no people. So to talk of taxing the Philippines heavily enough to reimburse us for our expenditures is absurd. And if we look to reimbursement in exploitation, in development of the productive capabilities of the islands, what must follow? The increased wealth produced and which would not result in increasing the wealth and purchasing power of Filipinos, but be taken as our reward as exploiters, would have to be marketed outside of the Philippines. And clearly for foreign goods the market in the Philippines would not be enlarged. Therefore, this exploitation would in effect amount to the employment of Filipino labor to meet a demand in our markets before filled by our own labor or by the labor of other peoples buying of the fruits of our labor. In short, it would amount to a supplanting of the products of American labor with the products of Filipino labor. It would mean the taking of Philippine sugar to supply our wants in place of the sugar of Cuba and Puerto Rico. And it is with the sugar they may produce that Cuba and Puerto Rico expect to be able to buy from us the manufactured goods and breadstuffs that they have need of. If we do not buy their sugar, if they cannot sell their sugar, they cannot buy from us, and the expected demand for the products of our labor in those islands will not arise, the people thereof being simply degraded to the Asiatic level. And if men hope to be reimbursed for our Philippine expenses through an extension of our China trade, they will suffer disappointment, for exploitation of the Chinese and drawing off of the surplus products of their labor coming from such exploitation, a drawing off so that the Chinese will reap no benefit from the increased productiveness of their labor and will

not be lifted thereby into a higher scale of living, cannot but end in the supplying of wants now filled by the products of American labor with the products of Chinese.

"THE continued opposition of Aguinaldo and his followers" reads a press dispatch "is giving a black eye to self government to the Filipinos." Rather should we say that their continued opposition proves their fitness for self-government. The fact that they can maintain an organized and disciplined army capable of making serious resistance to our troops, the fact that Aguinaldo's government and in the face of the attacks of our troops has been able to exercise sovereignty and control over at least a sufficient part of the island of Luzon to regularly draw the supplies without which such army could not keep the field all goes to prove conclusively not only that the Filipinos, or at least the Tagals, are possessed of those qualities of command over themselves and obedience to self-imposed rulers that fit men for self-government but that they are at this time exercising those qualities, succeeding to an eminent degree in doing just that which we declare is to them impossible, namely living under self-government. And surely if they can maintain a government, exercise a self-sovereignty when we are doing all in our power to destroy such sovereignty they would have no difficulty in establishing firmly such sovereignty, commanding obedience to law and order, if we left them alone.

True, it is only one of the many peoples of the Philippines, the Tagals, who are thus proving their fitness for self-government in the Philippines and under the most discouraging conditions. But the Tagals form two-thirds of the population of Luzon and one-fourth of the inhabitants of the Philippine group and they are no more advanced than the Viscayans who constitute another fourth of the total population. And surely because the Tagals resist our troops is no good reason why we should deny them the right of self-government after we have crushed their resistance. Their continued opposition to our forces we should not treat as a black eye to self-government. For fighting in what they regard as defense of the right to self-government we should not regard them less highly. That they should so value that right as to fight for it, die for it should win our admiration, should commend those people to us and incline us not less but more towards granting them that right. But the misery of it is that we would not be fighting these people at all if President McKinley and his imperialistic supporters were not bent on denying to the Philippines their independence, on denying to the Filipinos the right of self-government and bent on holding them as subjects to be governed with a view to the promotion of our interests rather than theirs. They talk about the unfitness of the Filipinos for self-government only as an excuse for withholding from them such right, a right that they are quite capable of exercising. So long as we do not choose to recognize such fitness no act of the Filipinos, no proof of fitness for self-rule that that people may give, can force us to admit it.

SOME hundreds of miles to the south of Manila, down in the island of Negros where the landing of our troops was welcomed several weeks ago, where the inhabitants had established a provisional form of government that was given at least quasi recognition by General Miller in responding to the official welcome extended by the "president and congress" of the island to our troops, where an uprising of the tribesmen of the interior and on an extensive scale was lately reported, but falsely as it has proven, a constitution according a measure of self-government to the people of the island is, as reported, being drafted under the direction of Col. Smith, commander of our troops in the island. General Miller, his immediate superior, and who gave quasi recognition to the government of Negros in thanking that government and the people of the island for the cordial reception



accorded to Colonel Smith, is occupied around Iloilo, in the not far distant island of Panay where affairs are not so peaceful and far from encouraging. It is to be hoped that we will get along with the natives in Negros much better than we have in Luzon or Panay. We have at least made a better beginning, let us hope that it presages a better ending. What sort of a constitution is being drafted in Negros by a "committee of natives presided over by Colonel Smith," is not made clear by the brief dispatches. We are told that the American Constitution is being taken as the basis of the document, but just how this is to be shaped to fit the case of an Asiatic island is not clear. Is the island to hold the relation of an American state to the Union save it have no voice in determining the general policy of that Union, is it to hold the relation in which we purpose to hold the Hawaiian islands, or are we to give to that island self-government in all things save matters concerning its foreign relations, make it independent in things domestic, dependent in things foreign?

Presumably we will not extend our tariff system around the island, indeed so far as Spain is concerned we cannot, having promised in the treaty of peace to keep the door to trade in the Philippines open to Spain for a series of years upon the same terms as we keep it open to our trade. Moreover we have avowed our adhesion to the open door policy so far as those islands are concerned.

One striking suggestion made before the committee drafting a constitution for the island of Negros is that provision be made for raising all the revenues of the island by export duties. Such duties are, in this age, quite unusual among western nations but are paralleled in a minor key in some of the British West Indies which impose a duty of from three to four per cent. on exports of sugar. Most nations seeking to extend their export trade avoid such duties as a burden on such trade, but it is urged that the raising of all revenues of the island of Negros by duties on exports would not injure the export trade of the island but rather encourage it for it is said such export duties as it would be necessary to impose to raise needed revenues would not be as burdensome to growers of produce for export as the land and other taxes they now bear and that are more costly to collect and that therefore such growers of export produce could sell their produce cheaper in foreign markets under the proposed system of raising all taxes by export duties than they can under the present system of taxation.

ELEVEN years ago, when Germany and the United States were at sword points over Samoa and after an appalling hurricane had destroyed the fleets of both nations riding at anchor in the harbor of Apia, an agreement was entered into by the United States, Germany and Britain for the establishment of a tripartite protectorate over the islands and a general settlement of the vexed question which had arisen over the succession to the Samoan throne. At that time Germany sought to gain preponderant influence in the islands if not pave the way to their possession by backing one of the aspirants to the throne. It was then that the United States called hands off and Mataafa, the choice of a good part of the people for king but opposed by Germany, naturally felt friendly toward the United States. So it came about that Germany felt his succession to the throne would be injurious to the German interests and Bismarck insisted that this chief so friendly to the United States should not only be excluded from succession to the throne for all time but be banished from the islands. And in the interest of harmony the demand of Bismarck was acceded to by the United States and Britain and in the famous tripartite agreement a clause inserted excluding Mataafa from the throne.

Now in Samoa no law of primogeniture is recognized, but it is the custom when the king dies for the tribesmen to elect his successor. And when the tribesmen assembled on such occasions

and lined up behind their chosen chiefs to be counted the election was almost invariably disputed by the defeated candidate and the succession to the throne decided by force of arms, unless indeed the supporters of the successful candidate were so much more numerous and so obviously superior in strength to all others as to make evident to the defeated that they would stand no chance in a trial of arms and so deter them from disputing the election. Now while the three great powers in establishing their protectorate over the Samoan islands recognized the right of the Samoans to choose their kings by election, save that Mataafa was, in deference to Germany, excluded from the list of eligibles, they bound themselves to exert their power and influence to oblige Samoans to abide by the results of any election and not take an appeal to arms. Any dispute arising over such an election the powers resolved to take cognizance of, pass upon it and impose their decision upon the Samoans.

SO TIME passed until late last year when Malietoa, firmly seated as king eleven years ago and recognized by the tripartite agreement, died. In the meantime, Germany having withdrawn her objection to Mataafa that chief returned to the islands from his banishment with the understanding that he would not stand for the succession to the throne, a succession which was barred to him by the Berlin agreement. But he did stand nevertheless, and commanded a preponderant following. Beyond all shadow of doubt he was duly elected. But the validity of his election was disputed on the ground of his ineligibility, and our representative on the islands, Mr. Chambers, sitting as chief justice, set his election aside, nominally in deference to the objection of Germany made to Mataafa, and set forth ten years before in the tripartite agreement. But now Germany has waived this clause put into such agreement at her instance and declaring Mataafa ineligible. So we have the curious spectacle of Chief Justice Chambers setting aside Mataafa's election because such election is in conflict with a clause in the tripartite agreement put in at Germany's instance but which Germany now waives. In other words, we have Chief Justice Chambers insisting that Germany's objection to Mataafa of ten years ago be respected though Germany insists upon it no longer; have him, our representative, insisting upon an objection in behalf of Germany that Germany herself does not. Such being the case it would seem to be in order for the United States to set aside Chief Justice Chamber's decision adverse to Mataafa, recognize that chieftain, the overwhelming choice of the Samoans, as their lawful king, and so re-establish tranquility upon the islands.

But in point of time as well as distance Samoa is far from Washington. Consequently our representatives in those far off islands and waters are obliged to act largely on their own responsibility. They cannot refer every proposed action to Washington for approval or the reverse. They must take the initiative, act on their own judgment. And if we are bent on a mission of peace there has been great bungling, for Admiral Kautz, commanding the cruiser Philadelphia and our naval representative in those waters, has pursued a course that has forced bloodshed. We will not say that he has not the approval of Washington, we think he has, for among the nations we have joined the land grabbers. Admiral Kautz was only sent to Samoa with the Philadelphia after the late trouble over the succession to the throne. On arrival he found Mataafa the *de facto* but not the *de jure* king. In short, by right of election, Mataafa was king, by decision of Chief Justice Chambers, resting his decision on a clause of the Berlin agreement put in at the instance of Germany but which Germany waves, he was not. And this decision Admiral Kautz resolved to uphold and in conjunction with the British naval commander sent an ultimatum to Mataafa commanding him to abdicate, give place to Malietoa Tanus. The German Consul protested, Mataafa paid no heed, the U. S. Cruiser Philadelphia and two British men-of-war

opened fire on the defenseless villages of Mataafa; for eight days, at last report, the shelling was intermittently kept up, many lives of helpless natives have been destroyed, much property gone up in smoke and flame; great is the glory to the Stars and Stripes and Union Jack joined together in suppression of the right of self government.

WE rejoice to see that the German-American citizens of Chicago are up in arms against the yoking of our fortunes to those of Britain. At a mass meeting in the auditorium on Monday last they voiced their protest, called on German-Americans everywhere to use all lawful means at their disposal, "especially at elections," to oppose those "who labor to entangle our country in an alliance with England." "We demand" read the resolutions adopted by these German-Americans "that not only friendly relations be maintained with Germany, . . . but that peace and harmony be cultivated with all nations, and we will, therefore, true to the wise counsel of George Washington, at all times firmly oppose the formation of entangling alliances with England as well as with any other country, whereby our country may be involved in unnecessary war." And though only English blood courses in our veins, but with our forebears one and all breathing the pure air of liberty in the New World from before the Revolution, we join heartily in this demand. With the movement for a British alliance, an alliance in form or merely a tacit joining of hands, welding of interests in pursuit of the same aims, aims of aggrandizement by robbing other peoples we have no sympathy. Such entangling alliance would we shun as poison for to make such alliance, pursue such aims would be to inject the poison of decay into our nation.

WE HEAR of ties of blood being thicker than water and uniting Britain and America. But those ties of blood are slender strands, ties no thicker and not so recently spun as those that unite us to Ireland or even to Germany. Since the Revolution, since we launched forth in our career as an independent nation, not more than ten per cent. of those who have come to settle among us, throw in their fortunes with our fortunes, develop a continent have been English born. As the German-Americans already referred to declared at Chicago: "Not England but the whole of Europe is the mother country of the white inhabitants of the United States."

Further back than two generations we cannot trace the lineage of our people, the country from which they have sprung, nor is it necessary, for in the third generation they have lost the distinguishable characteristics of their race, they cease to be Irish-Americans, or German-Americans, have ceased to be Americans by adoption, have become so by absorption. But of our population, foreign born and born of foreign parentage. The last census, and there is no later data, shows that in 1890, of our total white population of 54,983,980, 37 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., or 20,519,643, were of foreign parentage, and of these 4,913,238 were Irish-Americans, 6,851,564 German-Americans, 1,922,638 British-Americans, with the men of Scandinavian descent coming next. Put in percentages, of our white population, foreign born or born of foreign parents, 23.94 per cent. was Irish, 33.39 per cent. German, only 9.37 per cent. English.

Since 1890 there has been a large proportionate gain in our population of Latin and Slavish origin, so that the percentages of Irish and Germans and English to our foreign population, though still holding their ranking position, are undoubtedly somewhat smaller than eight years ago. Of this population of foreign parentage and in excess of twenty millions, or three-eighths of our whole white population in 1890, 9,249,547 were actually foreign born, the other eleven millions born of foreign parents. Of the foreign born 2,784,894 were Germans, 1,871,509

Irish, 933,249 Scandinavians, 908,141 English, 510,625 Slavish peoples, 319,822 Latins, 242,231 Scotch.

A LITTLE while ago the inhabitants of St. Christopher, despairing of Britain doing anything to save their interests from ruin, deliberately asked for a change of flags; now it is Jamaica, the largest, most populous and certainly after Trinidad the richest of the British West Indian islands, that shows signs of estrangement. Like all the British West Indian islands, Jamaica has suffered serious depression owing to the advantage which the German producers of sugar have over them in the British markets. For German bounty paid sugar being admitted into Britain free just like British West Indian, the West Indian producer meets not natural but artificially stimulated competition in the British markets and competition which has so pressed down the price of sugar that he can no longer raise it at a profit. So have serious times overtaken Jamaica. Like other British West Indian islands it has asked Britain to impose duties on German sugar equal to the bounty paid and so that German and West Indian sugars would come upon the British markets on an equal footing or failing this to make a direct grant for the assistance of the Jamaican Government directly out of the Imperial Treasury. But the imposition of countervailing duties on bounty paid sugar the British Government has refused, and has refused to Jamaica any direct grant of assistance unless she give up the last vestige of self-government so that the expenditure of any grant made should be under imperial direction. If the Imperial Government is to fill up the purse the Imperial Government must hold the purse strings.

Such was the answer to the Jamaican petition for countervailing duties and justice or in lieu of this a grant out of the imperial treasury. And all the time affairs in Jamaica have been approaching a crisis. For the year 1897-98 imports of about \$9,000,000 exceeded exports by two millions, and the debt of the island grows while revenues for last year and amounting to three and a quarter million dollars fell short of expenditures by about half a million. And of all the revenue nearly one-half is taken for the support of officers appointed by the British crown. And Jamaicans, in looking for ways and means to make ends meet, resolved that the island in its depressed condition could not stand the raising of taxes, that retrenchment was necessary and that the retrenchment should commence with those getting largest salaries and who could best stand it, the officers appointed by the crown. But these crown officers to the number of six held seats in the legislative council, to which council fourteen members are elected by the people of the island. But when the last constitution was decreed for Jamaica fifteen years ago, the right was reserved to the queen or governor provisionally to appoint ten additional members. Now this power had not been availed of, but when the council insisting on retrenchment, and retrenchment affecting primarily the crown officers of high salaries, refused to vote a higher tariff as demanded by the Governor and Privy Council, that official forthwith proceeded to appoint four additional members to the council to overcome the adverse vote. Thus the people whose interests are uncared for by the imperial Government find themselves powerless to prevent the imposing of greater taxes upon them, and in their impoverished condition, an impoverished condition due to the abandonment of their interests by the British Government that prefers German sugar growers to them, and taxes for the support in regal style of the officers appointed by this same Imperial Government. To the British crown have this people been intensely loyal, but this loyalty is now subjected to a severe strain. Jamaica is ripe for anything.

THE following which Mr. Bryan was counting on in New York to build up an organization in antagonism to the Croker



Democracy seems rent with hopeless discord. When Mr. Croker made preparations for his Jefferson day banquet at ten dollars a plate and at which free silver and the Chicago platform should be tabooed, the Chicago platform Democrats decided to hold another banquet at the democratic price of one dollar a plate, at which the diners might pledge themselves anew to that platform and encourage each other to carry the fight for silver and the recognition of the platform of 1896 into the heart of Tammany, or, baffled at this, carry on the fight outside and by building up a Bryan Democracy in opposition to the Croker Democracy. Some workingmen's organizations then refused to have anything to do with the dinner if it was to be made specifically a party meeting of Chicago platform Democrats and in deference to their wishes it was decided to call it simply "The Workingmen's Jeffersonian Dinner." In the meanwhile Mr. Bryan had been invited and telegraphed his acceptance to the dinner of "Chicago platform Democrats," indicating that that was the only kind of a dinner he would attend. Then followed an effort of the Chicago platform Democrats on the committee arranging the dinner to change its name and avowed purpose so Mr. Bryan's acceptance would fit it, but they found themselves outvoted. Then with protestations that Croker and Tammany had packed their committee to break up their dinner, confound Mr. Bryan's plans, they resolved to get up a dinner anyway of Chicago platform Democrats and which Mr. Bryan would attend.

But meantime preparations go on for "The Workingmen's Jeffersonian Dinner" and Mr. Bryan cannot refuse to attend that dinner without giving offense to a body of men he cannot afford to offend. So between the rival dollar dinner factions, both of which claim to hold Mr. Bryan's acceptance, that gentleman is placed in a serious dilemma. He may by this time regret having made a political issue out of his invitation to the Croker harmony dinner, regret that he did not accept, avail of that occasion to burn in his principles and his purposes upon hostile minds with fiery eloquence and so have kept clear of his present dilemma. But he has gone too far to turn back even though he is making a breach in his own following rather than that of his enemies.

FURTHER, while Mr. Perry Belmont is chosen to preside over the Croker banquet his brother, Mr. O. H. P. Belmont, declares he will attend the dinner of the Chicago platform Democrats. Yet this second Mr. Belmont is not an admirer of Mr. Bryan or a believer in free silver, he does not want to keep open the feud between silver and gold Democrats, does not want to drive gold Democrats out of the party as does Mr. Bryan, but seeks for a basis upon which the different factions may harmonize their differences and unite. And this basis he finds in a program of reforms to be pressed by the united party including the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, the referendum, election of United States judges by the people and opposition to the trusts. But this is entirely too good a platform for Democrats to unite upon. It is a Populistic rather than Democratic platform, it is a platform upon which Mr. Bryan could not run without taking a stand upon certain crying issues far in advance of any he has so far taken. Nor will the Democratic leaders accept such program as a basis of harmony.

True, this platform would be in accord with the teachings of Jefferson. But Jefferson's Democracy is far different from the Democracy of to-day. In his first inaugural, and after recounting the advantages the country enjoyed by nature, he said:

"With all these blessings what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.

This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

And how do Democrats to-day meet the command that our government restrain men from injuring one another? They generally refuse to meet it, refuse to do that which would restrain men from injuring one another and secure to all equal opportunities, because the doing would be "paternal" and for paternalism they express a rabid fear. And in thus opposing the remedies for evil and injustice they hold up the hands of those who profit therefrom. To restrain men from injuring one another, to prevent the building up of trusts, to restore to our people equal opportunities, the nationalization of our railroads is necessary. But such nationalization the Democrats oppose.

THE Inter-State Commerce Commission has handed down a decision to the effect that it is lawful for railroads to charge lower rates on the transportation of goods consigned for export than on similar goods, hauled similar distances, under similar conditions but intended for domestic consumption. That is to say, the railroads may lawfully charge higher rates on shipments of grain from say Chicago to New York and for consumption in New York, than on shipments from Chicago to New York and billed through to Liverpool. As a matter of fact, the railroads have in conjunction with the steamship lines made at times through rates on grain from Chicago to Liverpool that were actually less than the rates charged on grain from Chicago to New York.

Now all of this may be and is defended on the ground that it extends our foreign trade, that our railroads thus indirectly meeting ocean competition must help in laying down the grain in the British markets as cheaply as possible so that those markets may be held on to and they hold on to their traffic. Furthermore, it is a fact that the German railroads, under government ownership and control, are used in just this way to encourage the export trade. Yet it must be borne in mind that this is an encouraging of foreign trade at the expense of domestic and the advisability of thus encouraging foreign trade by what amounts to a system of bounties on exports paid through the railroads and of course collected by the railroads as enhanced transportation charges on domestic trade is open to serious question.

But that the Inter-State Commerce Commission should have affirmed the right of the railroads to discriminate between domestic and export trade is in no way surprising, for when this commission declared the discrimination of the railroads in favor of import trade and against domestic to be illegal the Supreme Court annulled such decision of the commission. And surely if it is lawful under the present law for the railroads to carry imported goods from the seaboard to interior points at less rates than they carry goods manufactured in our own factories no one can question the right of the railroads to charge less on freight for foreign export than on freight for domestic consumption. Further be it said that as such discrimination in favor of the carriage of goods for export to ports of shipment amounts to a bounty on exports, even so does the discrimination in favor of carriage of imported goods over goods of domestic manufacture amount to a bounty on imports and to the extent of such bounty, such rebate, annul the protection to domestic industry extended by tariff imposts.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT after prodding the New York Legislature to take some action towards remedying the admittedly inequitable distribution of the burden of state taxes has, now that a Senate committee has taken a step in the direction of remedial legislation, sent a special message to the Legislature appealing to them to halt, postpone any direct movement for the re-adjustment of the state taxation on an equitable basis until the whole matter can be carefully investigated, and to this end he urges the Legislature to choose a tax commission and relegate the whole subject to that commission, stop short of taking any positive

action at this time. Thus does the Governor blow hot and cold over the bill directing the assessment and taxation of franchise values as real property, he dashes cold water over it without squarely opposing it. We fear that thus dampened the bill will fall to the ground.

This backing and filling, this painful effort to keep on both sides of a question, win the applause of the moneyed cliques without estranging the people, is not what we expected of Governor Roosevelt. But ambition makes many men cowards, and the gallant colonel of the Rough Riders is being held in readiness to enter the lists with Mr. McKinley for the Republican nomination in 1900 should the hue of the political situation give any augury of success or should Mr. McKinley refuse to make terms with New York's boss, Mr. Platt.

#### THE CHURCH AND POPULISM.

IT IS the fashion of some to sneer at the doctrines of equality and liberty, to pass lightly by the doctrine of the brotherhood of man as something to be sought in heaven, not to be practiced and recognized on earth. And many of those who make it thus a fashion to sneer are good church-goers, regular frequenters of Christ's houses of worship and declared believers in His teachings. But casting out the doctrine as inapplicable to this world, scorning and slurring and ridiculing those who proclaim it, give it application to conditions of our every day life, and exhort us to practice it on earth even as it is practiced in heaven, these frequenters of Christ's houses of worship, whose fashion it is to ridicule those who proclaim the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, and in proclaiming it give it practical application, are Christians only in outward form.

The church-goer who refuses to recognize the doctrine of the brotherhood of man as applicable to this earth, who ignores it and tramples upon it at his convenience, who casts it out as unacceptable in our present life because it does not comport with his schemes of despoiling his fellow-man, whose fashion it is to pass over this doctrine as one not to be lived up to on earth is but a hypocritical Christian. To our mind he who would pass through the portals of heaven must give observance to this doctrine on earth, comport himself in accordance therewith that he may promote by his life peace and good will and happiness on earth, not bequeath strife, discontent, suffering and tears. For it is by life on this earth that man's fitness to pass through the portals of heaven, to enter into a life of perpetual bliss, a life where there will be no discords, no strife, no cause for tears, no bar to happiness must be tested. He who on earth has sought to remove injustice and oppression, the causes of discord and strife, who has sought to remove the cause for tears, lift the bars to happiness, will find the portals of heaven flung wide open to him in welcome, but he who has stooped not at injustice on earth to gain his ends, who has sought wealth by despoiling his fellow mortals in a way to bring tears and suffering, he must find the portals of heaven barred against him.

This is what Christ taught us, this is the meaning of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, a doctrine given to us not to be passed lightly over unheeded but for our observance on this earth, as a beacon light pointing the way to a higher life. He told us not only of a future life, he taught us how to gain that life for ourselves, taught us the necessity of leading a godly life on earth, of giving our pittance to make the world a vale of happiness and not of tears if we would enter into the future kingdom of eternal happiness. For the ungodly on earth cannot be permitted to enter the kingdom of heaven, and to disobey the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, to trample on the rights of others, to despoil one's fellow men, seek riches in a way to cause injury and suffering is ungodly on earth. So Christ taught

his religion, such is the meaning of Christianity. And in thus proclaiming the meaning of Christianity we are not dogmatic, we are simply proclaiming self-evident truths.

And these truths do none the less demand recognition nor is the observance of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man any the less imperative, if we would gain entrance into the kingdom of heaven by uplifting man on earth to a higher state, because in many pulpits these truths are hidden beneath generalities and the doctrine of the brotherhood of man treated as a doctrine to be dimly preached about but not to be practiced on earth. But practiced on earth that doctrine will be in the end, for those peoples who come nearest to living up to that doctrine will outstrip all others, supplant all their rivals, for the very fact that they come nearest to the observance of that doctrine must make them strongest and fittest to survive. For where there is greatest justice, greatest equality of opportunity, greatest assurance given to men of enjoying the fruits of their labor will the incentive to the production and saving of wealth, to invention and the economizing of labor be greatest and so the enrichment, the progress, the advancement of the race be most rapid. And, therefore, by a process of natural selection, in accordance with the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, in accordance with those divine laws which make progress inevitable, retrogression impossible, will the doctrine of the brotherhood of man gain observance on earth.

It will force that recognition for itself for the nations that repudiate it will be blasted for their disobedience of that divine given law, the nations that observe it will prosper and progress and grow stronger and stronger just so long as they observe it, and the people that most perfectly observes it will outstrip all the rest. So the observance of that law will be kept to the fore and the progress of the world be insured by the very fall of empires, a decay and disintegration that it is ordained shall befall empires that fall away from the observance of such law. It is a curse upon the peoples who cast out the laws of divine justice, a blessing upon the peoples who observe those laws; retrogression for those who disobey, progress and strength for those who obey. The question for us to-day is: shall we disobey and decay as a people to be outstripped by some people truer to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man than we or shall we obey, progress, continue to grow in strength, outstrip all other peoples in wealth, in happiness, in the upliftment of mankind, in all that makes a nation truly great and deserving of its greatness.

So long as a nation having attained greatness shows itself deserving of such greatness its greatness will not desert it. But let it be undeserving, let it cease to observe those rules that made it great and its greatness will crumble away. Observance by the American people of the doctrines of liberty, equality and the brotherhood of man, observance to a greater degree than accorded those doctrines by any other people, made the American people great, greater than any other. Observance of those doctrines made them deserving of their greatness; while they hold to the observance of those doctrines their greatness will not forsake them.

But are we holding to the observance of these doctrines with the strictness that alone can insure our continued superiority over other peoples? This is the serious question before us, for forsake this observance and our greatness will forsake us. And trifling with such doctrines as equality, liberty, the brotherhood of man, scoffing and sneering at them as is the fashion of some are we seriously imperilling our greatness. Our hope, the conviction that gives us unbounded faith in the future and greatness of our people is that those whose habit is thus to scoff and scorn form but a small minority of the American people and that the great majority, inherently honest and just, anxious that this great country be run according to the precepts of Christ, that justice be done and equal opportunities accorded to all men, will not long tolerate its running by those who refuse to give observance to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, refuse to give recog-



nition to the cardinal tenet of democracy and are bent on the despoilment of their fellow men. Against such rules and rulers, against those who fail to observe the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, against those who profit by the disobedience of that doctrine the Christian Churches should themselves preach the crusade. In many, largely dependent for support on the contributions of those profiting from the disobedience of such doctrine, from the trampling upon the teachings of Christ, we doubt not the preaching of such crusade will be difficult; that many pulpits will be filled by men who though seeing the need of such crusade will lack the courage to preach it we have no doubt, but that in many pulpits will be found men ready to sacrifice self for the upliftment of their fellow men, ready to sacrifice self to save to their country its greatness we have faith.

"Latterly," writes "Matthew Marshall" in the financial column of the *New York Sun*, "the Socialists have made many converts to their views in this country, and it is not a little remarkable, that, although most of them are unfriendly to all forms of religion, they have found allies among the Christian clergy, who, abandoning the ancient dogma that life in this world is but an insignificant fraction of man's existence, and, with its transitory trials and sufferings, of no account compared with the eternity of happiness which awaits the true believer upon his death, employ the machinery of the church to promote the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind."

But to our mind it is not remarkable that so many Christian clergymen have preached populist doctrines, but remarkable that so few have. For Populism proclaims the brotherhood of man, proclaims what Christ taught two thousand years ago, proclaims it not as a dim unreality to the observance of which men cannot be expected to be held but as a doctrine to be observed, to be followed in our life on this earth. And Populism proclaiming this, demanding justice and equal opportunities for all men, insisting that in our government and in our every day life observance shall be given to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, why should not clergymen of the church of Christ preach the doctrines of Populism? In so doing they would but give practical application to the teachings of Christ.

We are told that between Socialists and Populists and the Church there is want of reciprocity, that Socialists are "unfriendly to all forms of religion" and that this is enough reason for the Church to be unfriendly to Populism, which, in the purview of "Matthew Marshall" is one and the same thing with Socialism. But to the Christian Church Populists are not unfriendly. They are unfriendly to the churches only where they see Mammon in the pulpit and Christ dethroned, only where men bow down in worship at the shrine of gold and not at the brotherhood of man, only the churches where the doctrine of peace and good will on earth, of equality and happiness, of justice and liberty, of the brotherhood of man is not taught, churches consecrated to the worship of Christ and the promulgation of his teachings, desecrated by the worship of mammon. For the true Populist is the most fervid of Christians, his cardinal faith is the cardinal tenet of Christianity, the brotherhood of man. To that teaching of Christ he aims to give practical application to the end that justice may be secured on earth, causes for strife and discord removed, peace and good will, happiness and progress reign.

And why should not the machinery of the Church be employed to promote the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind, why should not the Church exert itself to ameliorate the trials and sufferings of mankind instead of counseling men to patiently and uncomplainingly bear such trials, comforting themselves with the thought that those trials and sufferings are but transitory and to be regarded as preparation for a future life? We assert that trials and sufferings born of injustice and oppression on this earth are no preparation for a future life. Rather does the toleration of such trials and sufferings show that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is not given observance and

surely men cannot be prepared for a future life by the non-observance of that doctrine in the present. It is only by our life on earth that we can purify ourselves for entrance into heaven, it is only by our life on earth, by observance of the precepts of Christ in our earthly life that we can show our fitness for entrance into a future life where all things will be pure, where the sordid is unknown. And surely it should be the effort of the Church to aid us thus purify ourselves, to aid us right injustice and wrong, give application to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

True, it may be said that those who bear the trials and sufferings born of injustice and oppression are not guilty of any un-Christian act, that for such injustice of man to man and from which they suffer they are not responsible, that submission in meek spirit will gain for them easy entrance into the future life of bliss, when death comes to relieve them of their earthly sufferings, that the sufferings which their poverty entails upon them should be welcomed as the price of heavenly happiness. But as "Marshall" himself points out "the patience with which men were once taught to endure remediable evils was not a virtue."

No man has done his full duty on earth who has not sought to better the lot of his fellow men, remove injustice, lift oppression. And he who in the presence of injustice has sought not to remove it cannot escape responsibility for the trials and sufferings resultant therefrom. To the extent of his power to remove such injustice and that he fails to exert he is remiss in his duty to self and his fellow men. To tolerate injustice when capable of preventing it is but one step removed from perpetrating that injustice. It is the duty of every man to do what he can to make life on this earth something akin in a materialistic sense to the life expected in the Kingdom of Heaven. The more nearly akin we can make such life the more sure can we be of a welcome in the future kingdom. If we fail to make it as nearly akin as lies within our power we are remiss in our duty, responsible in some degree for trials and sufferings on this earthly sphere, must bear the onus and have it to explain.

We may regard this earth as our great training school for entrance into the spiritual life of the future, the life of eternity. And through this training school it is the duty of the Church to guide us, guide us as near to observance of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man in our government and every day life as is possible, for it is through such guidance, guidance in the temporal field that the Church can promote our spiritual welfare.

In short, the Church can help us to do our duty by our fellow men, help us weed out injustice, help us destroy all those things destructive of equality and liberty, help us establish on earth the doctrine of the brotherhood of man in all possible perfection. Against all things destructive of equality and of the brotherhood of man, against all things that hinder the observance of those doctrines, against all those who profiting from despoiling their fellow men insist that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, of equality and exact justice should be treated as an unreality and not given practical application the Church should lead the crusade. And that this crusade should be found to lead along Populistic lines should turn no one from the crusade. As honest men preaching the crusade come to observe this they must sweep their prejudices away and go forward with clearer insight, firmer step. When they awaken to the fact that the Republican and Democratic parties are the protectors of injustice and special privileges, of railroad rate discriminations, schemes of overcapitalization, trusts and combines, protectors of those who cast overboard the doctrine of the brotherhood of man as not fitting their purposes; when they awaken to the fact that those parties oppose the practical application of that doctrine to our conditions and to the end that justice may be done and equality be restored; when they awaken to the fact that it is the aim of the Peoples party to give such application to the teachings of Christ, the present aim of Republican and Democratic parties, controlled by the money cliques, to prevent, they

must lead the crusade against the two old parties and rally to the support of the new. Populism teaches the brotherhood of man, so does Christianity.

### THE TRUSTS VS. THE PEOPLE.

CAN the great industrial trusts be reached by federal statute, by inhibition of the National Government? Attorney General Griggs, who as a lawyer had much to do with looking after corporate interests, declares that under our Constitution such trusts cannot be thus reached. Under the Constitution the National Government has power over interstate commerce, but is delegated no control over the commerce carried on within the borders of any state. Now, says the Attorney General of President McKinley's administration, of the Republican party that is so much opposed, you know, to trusts, would do anything to destroy them, this gives the United States power over the railroads running through different states and the power and ability under the anti-trust law to break up railroad pools and combines composed of roads crossing state borders, but gives the United States no power to break up industrial trusts and combines whose plants are located in the different states. If the industrial trust should be so obliging as to place its plant astride some state line so that half might be in one state and half in another then, but not otherwise, such trust might be considered to come within the jurisdiction of the United States and to be subject to the anti-trust law.

This seems to be about the depth of Mr. Griggs' argument. And shallow enough argument it appears to most, but deep enough to satisfy if one does not care to prosecute the trusts.

Now all the trusts are really engaged in interstate commerce, selling their goods in the different states and often through established agencies, and so it would seem that federal legislation interdicting the interstate traffic of trust goods would not only be constitutional but could be made, if enforced with any energy, to break up the trusts. For how could the trusts do business if an attempt to ship their goods across state borders would subject such goods to confiscation? Still it must be said that the Supreme Court has rendered several decisions that Mr. Griggs can cite with some authority in support of his narrow construction and another case, that of the pipe trust, owning plants in several states, is now before the Supreme Court. If the court sustain the suit of the government and order the dissolution of that trust Attorney General Griggs can scarce offer any excuse for not bringing suits aiming at the dissolution of the other industrial trusts, unless it be that offered after the handing down of the Joint Traffic Association case declaring such railroad combine to be illegal, namely that the Department of Justice of the United States has enough work on hand without looking for jobs, that is enough work without attempting to enforce the anti-trust laws.

In short we doubt not that with an energetic and capable Attorney General, with an unswerving purpose to enforce the laws, proceedings instituted against the trusts could be successfully pushed and decrees obtained from the courts ordering their dissolution, and decrees which would pass muster before the Supreme Court as constitutional. But that the entering of such decrees would result in more than the nominal dissolution of the trusts does not follow. That such proceedings would do more than to drive the trusts to legal quibbles and by which they might maintain their virtual character and continue their hold over trade while nominally winding up is far from certain. Of course by further legislation and even further suits under present laws those backing the trusts might be further pursued and even deterred from their purposes by the prospect of the visitation of personal punishment, imprisonment, if they persisted in breaking the law, a deterrent for these big law breakers with which, though

on the statute books, they have never been threatened up to this time. But we may rest assured that whatever may be the legal prohibitions, whatever the punishments, whatever the laws against trusts, the enforcing of those laws and prohibitions in an effective way will be next to impossible so long as we reward those who form trusts or permit others to reward them.

If we would put a stop to stealing remove the temptation as far as may be. If a merchant exposed valuable wares on the highway, left his cash till open and within reach of every passer-by and without any watchful eye over till or wares it would cause us no surprise to learn he had been robbed. Neither would we pity him; rather would we blame him for his almost criminal unheeding of the Lord's prayer: Lead us not into temptation. And the trusts are we now encouraging not only in much this way, by offering the chance to gather wealth undetected in an illegitimate way, but by opening a way to illegitimate gain that is so great that those outside of the trusts and to whom such illegitimate gain is not open cannot hope to compete. So we would have two forces encouraging those in trusts to hang on even in the face of decrees ordering dissolution and at some personal risk of punishment, one the chance of reaping illegitimate profits offered by such combine, the other the fear that to drop outside of the trust would mean ruin of business and leave one with no opening of promise.

Before we can then effectively strike at the trusts we must remove this temptation and this fear. And this we can only do by giving assurance to all men that they shall have equal opportunities, that no one shall have any advantage over his fellow save such as lies within himself. And to assure this there has got to be nationalization of the railroads and of those natural monopolies that in private hands are being abused. Nearly all our industries are dependent upon the railroads, not only shipping their products to various markets over the railroads but assembling the raw materials of production by the same means. Only those industries situated on navigable waters and they only to a partial extent, for there are many points that cannot be reached by water, are free from the railroads. Consequently, it lies with our railroads to make our different industrial establishments profitable or the reverse. A keeping up of transportation rates to some while rates are put down to rivals enables those rivals to undersell, capture the markets, sooner or later drive those discriminated against out of business, force them to sell their plants at bankrupt prices at which the rivals buy and thus get a monopoly of the markets, a monopoly created by railroad discrimination. Thus the weeding out and building up process goes on until the shipping business becomes concentrated in a few favored combines and trusts of one kind or another, corporate or private, and in which the railroad managers dishonestly, criminally giving rebates to the favored generally have a share. And, of course, no one outside of the favored circle and unable to ship his produce or assemble his materials of production as cheap as the favored trust can hope to compete. Just so long as there is such discrimination, and that is to say just so long as there is management of our railroads in the interest of the favored few, the would be independent producer and competitor of the trust will be deterred from embarking in a field where he will have no fair show. Until there is an open field without favors insured, and that means until there is nationalization of our railroads he will be deterred. Thus we see how the railroads build trusts, how they protect the trusts against competition.

So it is that the trust question is not a tariff question but a railroad question. In saying this we are far from denying that many trusts have taken shelter behind protective tariff schedules and availed of such schedules to raise prices to the American consumer. Such schedules thus used become mere schedules protective of the interests of the trusts; of all other interests they are destructive. Indeed they cannot be regarded as part of a really protective tariff aimed to foster domestic competition.



But for such duties the Republican party cannot escape responsibility, for with full knowledge were schedules protective of the trusts and nothing else incorporated into the Dingley tariff. And even so does responsibility rest on the Democratic party, though posing as a free trade, anti-monopoly party, for the Democratic party was responsible for tariff schedules protective of the trusts and incorporated into the Wilson-Gorman tariff even as the Republican party is responsible for the schedules in the Dingley tariff.

Thus we see that on the tariff side both Republican and Democratic parties give protection to the trusts; on the side of the railroads, and as supporting a railroad system open to all the gross abuses of discrimination in rates, they are both equally guilty of extending protection and much more effective protection. Thus do we see the Democratic and Republican parties siding with the trusts, the Peoples party alone against and with an effective remedy to offer. And thus so far as the next campaign is fought between the trusts and the people it will be the Republican and Democratic parties, twins in deception, *vs.* the Peoples party.

### A NEW BROTHERHOOD.

IN WHICH IS SHOWN A HAPPY GATHERING OF SOME AMERICAN MENDICANTS.

BY F. H. MARCH.

IF our patriot ancestors, who are believed to have been far more liberty-loving than we are, could see nothing incongruous in the enslavement of their fellow-men, why should we be surprised to find that the present generation consider the pauperism of so many of their fellow-citizens as merely an unpleasant incident, not to be enlarged upon, but regarded (as many distinguished "doughfaces" so satisfactorily settled the question of negro slavery) as "a necessary evil?" That the American people are gradually being educated into the belief that to beg is one of a freeman's natural, inalienable rights, a right which some Americans make a pretence of deploring only when exercised by those who beg the very necessities of existence, is undeniable, self-evident; and yet there is nothing in the condition of a beggar which forbids him as large a freedom of action as is enjoyed by those who give, or are solicited to give, what is begged for. Beggars imply givers, one class is but the complement of the other, and there can be no freedom for those who possess so long as there are any who are only free to beg or starve.

These statements, which are made with no intention of relieving mendicancy of any of its reputed ignominy, will, no doubt, be considered very differently by those who read them, and in proportion to each reader's sufficiency or lack of sufficiency will he find reasons either for denying them, palliating them, or evading them; there will be few, rich or poor, beggars or givers, who will admit that their freedom is in any degree impaired by submitting to conditions which place them either in one class or the other. Of course, all my readers will be quite positive that they have a vivid conception of the ideal state of freedom, of its limitations and possibilities, and will be disposed, perhaps, to resent any attempt at this time to enlarge or modify their preconceived boundaries of the so-called birth-right of all American citizens. But one precise agreement as to the heights and depths of a state of freedom is not very essential in this connection. So long as we all agree that poverty and mendicancy constitute no portion of freedom's bright promise, a little study of some of our American beggars at this time may help us to understand more clearly and define more accurately all that freedom means.

#### Pauper Beggars.

It is the accepted dictum of organized society—it is not necessary now to show its impolicy—that to be the solicitor or recipient of alms, public or private, constitutes a pauper. It matters not whether the alms solicited consist of money or goods,

if they are bestowed upon those in need the recipients are thereby pauperized, and thereby, by universal understanding, if not by statute, degraded, being considered irresponsible and as more or less incapable of self-government. To the liberal mind, no doubt, the degradation, implied if not expressed, which accompanies the act of satisfying our brothers' needs seems unnatural, perhaps inhuman. But, to improve matters, those who organize charity are all agreed that pauperism must be suppressed, and they tell you that to be cheerful in giving would put a premium upon it; from which advice we can only draw the inference that the cause of pauperism is to be found in the giving rather than in the wanting of the things begged for. The logic of organized charity, however, comes in time to be irrefutable, even to lovers of freedom; we cease disputing and submit, denying or giving ungraciously what is solicited, sacrificing even our peace of mind if it will thereby remove our brothers from that condition which is a trouble to us and a degradation to them. And, by the way, this is a noble trait in alms-givers and charity-mongers which has never been sufficiently appreciated by our pauper brothers. No doubt it will, in time, effect the result aimed at, and all our poor beggars, notwithstanding the encroachments of poverty, through their keen appreciation of the suffering endured by those who relieve their wants, will determine to want no more or refuse to make their needs known, and beggary will cease. If our paupers were only more sympathetic, and not concerned so much about material things, this abolishment might be considered more probable than it now appears to be.

However, let us not indulge in any pleasantries, even if they are logically reasonable, regarding the misery of our brothers—both those who beg and those who degrade by giving—but out of sympathy for those who beg because they have nothing, let us seek to know if the society which affects to despise their beggary cannot produce other beggars who have little, and some who have more, and many who have much. Misery loves company, and since we cannot abolish indigency or bring paupers into popularity, we may be allowed, for our own instruction and their entertainment to introduce to them a goodly company of more or less congenial beggars from the various walks of American society. Though it is hardly to be expected that in this first gathering of the population of American beggards the individuals and classes composing it will be altogether amiable and fraternal, yet when they come to understand that they are all measured by the same measure they have meted they will undoubtedly consent to dwell together in harmony.

#### The Workman—He, Too, a Beggar.

The misery of our pauper beggars who have nothing, and are despised in proportion to their lack of necessities, may be made less galling if we first introduce to their kind consideration the great host of so-called working people, on whom they almost entirely depend to supply their needs. Their pre-eminence, however, is not endangered by the character or number of their guests, for though these working people have many things they still beg for more. In fact, they are continually begging, petitioning, soliciting and praying—for work, for more wages, for less hours, for lighter tasks, for humane treatment—and in proportion as they beg and wear the humility of the beggar do they thrive. True, they may object to be classed with beggars, and frequently succeed in concealing their indigence, but no less true is it that their beggary, being less necessitous, should be rated as more despicable than that of their more helpless brothers.

#### Charity Beggars.

It will need no labored explanation to enable our pauper friends to appreciate the gain in public esteem which they have already acquired through this connection with the working classes: and as soon as they feel somewhat at home in their new environment we shall seek still further to raise them in public estimation, and at the same time reconcile the working people to an alliance which they at first declared to be degrading by introducing to them the large and enterprising order of American business mendicants.

It is mainly through the efforts of this respectable class and their dependants that charity has been organized. Now this organization—not the charity—is only intended to discourage the beggary of those who have little or nothing, such as paupers and working people; it never concerns itself with the beggar who has much, and seldom or never with the proud pauper who is starving. Nevertheless, on account of the reputation which these charity beggars enjoy among the poor, owing to their so-called charitableness, it may be somewhat difficult to make

their introduction into our national poorhouse seem altogether reasonable.

A moment's consideration, however, will convince our pauper friends and the working people that organized charity lives by begging, encourages beggary, and is one of the most prolific causes of mendicancy, giving to a loathsome disorder and derangement of society the standing and character of a natural development. Its methods are precisely those practised by the recipients of its doles, whose necessities, which it condemns and deplores, it uses mainly as a means of enriching its treasures and thereby increasing the social prestige and power of its various organizations; and if they were not so much concerned with the declared motives of our charity-mongers they would be able to see more clearly their beggarly tactics and appreciate more fully the pernicious results of their activities.

#### The Business Man.—He too a denizen of Beggardom.

But in order that the company of this well-provided class may be made acceptable to our pauper friends and their working allies, we need not depend alone upon their efforts in the name of charity. There are other reasons why, if they are not given the chief, they should be entitled to a high rank among the orders of Beggardom. Perhaps our pauper friends can tell us whether it is less despicable to beg for credit than to beg for bread; whether it is more honorable to solicit trade than to beg the price of a night's lodging. The charitable class, or classes, who thrive on profit, interest, and rent, cannot be so uncharitable as to believe that it is more manly for a number of them to petition for the bestowal of a public franchise than it is for the working people to petition for living wages, or for the pauper to beg for food, clothing, or shelter; that it is less beggarly for the embarrassed business man to beg for an extension than it is for the poor rent-payer to petition for a like favor.

In their humility our pauper friends and their indigent allies, the working people, reply that these people are only doing business, and should not be classed with beggars like themselves. But they beg, and their business is carried on by begging, and by beggary they thrive. They beg even for *your* trade, they solicit even *your* patronage; in companies and as individuals, at every opportunity that presents itself, they humbly ask for the people's franchises; and the people's representatives have come to have little else to do than to listen to their petitions and grant their bequests. In fact, the more they beg and the more they are given, the more they want. "Doing business, not asking alms," you say. To give alms is to supply the wants of the needy, and who are so full of wants as these business medics, who have so much and still want more. On due consideration of their claims to brotherhood, we have no doubt but that they will be cordially welcomed by our pauper friends; and their fellowship, recognized as an honorable addition to that of the working beggars, will be hailed as one in every way conducive to their combined interests.

It may be that some few of our pauper beggars may feel the novelty of their situation at this point of their entertainment, and perhaps there may be others, wiser than their fellows, who will deplore the fact that their misery has been deepened by the number and so-called respectability of the company which we have introduced to them. Their hope of escape from beggary has undoubtedly been lessened, for, poor fellows, where they once thought that had they but a little they should be free, they have now learned that they are but as links in an unending chain which comprises all humanity, a chain forged by want, and which poverty and the fear of poverty continually renews and strengthens.

#### Political Beggars.

But, since misery loves company, perhaps we can encourage even the most dejected pauper beggar to become optimistic by giving him an opportunity to play host to a far more picturesque class of beggars than any who deserve the name. The motley crowd of American beggars known as statesmen and politicians, office-holders and office-seekers, are therefore introduced to our pauper friends and their kin with great satisfaction; and though their number is great at present, and threatens shortly to exceed that of the voters who are not concerned with office-holding or office-seeking, their claims to beggarhood will be quite as easily proven as were those of the working beggars or those of the business beggars, who are both, by the way, chiefly responsible for the existence and prosperity of these beggarly patriots. Like the pauper mendicants, and the working mendicants, and the business mendicants, they live by beggary. They practice all the arts of the beggar to secure their nominations and appoint-

ments; they solicit your votes, individually and collectively, for themselves and their fellow-beggars on the same ticket; on every occasion, public and private, they beg you to support their party, imploring, beseeching, praying you not to desert the cause—their cause, their bread and butter.

#### Some Queries For Fashionable Beggardom.

Our paupers and our working beggars are disposed to object to this affiliation with the political beggars, and declare that some of these people are called honorable and that they pursue the only course which is open to them to accomplish their ends. Of course, we cheerfully admit that what they assert is true; but does this admission exempt them from their fellowship and hospitality? Are not all beggars honorable in their beggary, and do not all of them pursue the only course open to them to obtain what they desire? Can it be more honorable for the statesman to beg for office which gives him a livelihood than it is for the working man to beg for employment or for more wages, or for the pauper to beg for the food which sustains life? No one can possibly believe that there is more honor in soliciting votes for a political party in which the advocate's well-being is involved than there is in soliciting the trade upon whose profit the solicitor lives and supports his family, or than can be found in begging the assistance of your generous neighbors to obtain the necessities, or even the luxuries, for a sick wife or husband or for starving children. The most humble beggar in the pauper wards of our national poor-house would be justified in smiling at the efforts of any accomplished business mendicant who should attempt to maintain the unreasonableness of this contention. Perhaps, though, in view of the number and ability and power of this last addition to the ranks of beggary, even the business mendicant will be reconciled to their fellowship, and will refuse to argue the matter, even though its discussion should provide amusement to his pauper brothers. The working beggars, whose perceptions have been less warped by special interests and cent-per-cent sophistries than their business comrades, we feel confident will unanimously welcome and approve the fellowship of this patriotic class of American citizens, and will declare them to be the most beggarly beggars of them all.

Lest the evil reputation and bad habits of the company we have entertained them with should prevent the right thinking of our pauper beggars from imagining that begging for other things than the direst necessities is honorable and a mark of high breeding, we feel it necessary to remind them that though "the Lord loves a cheerful giver," there is no evidence that he ever approved of an avaricious beggar; and in all seriousness we ask them to consider that if those who beg for food, for shelter, on which life depends, are deemed despicable, how much more mean and ignoble must be the beggars who beg for a competency or for a surplus.

Our pauper friends, on due reflection, will have no difficulty in recognizing their merited pre-eminence in the beggar world, and there can be no doubt but that they will cheerfully continue to perform all the functions which misery's hostship demands. It is very natural that the company which is gathered for their entertainment should be envious of their worthiness, and they will possibly affect to despise the cause of their beggary; but let them be reminded that want made beggars of them all, and that the lesser need never made the nobler beggar.

#### The Clerical Beggar.

And now, though it might seem that the multitude of beggarly guests we have brought to the entertainment of our pauper brothers would excuse us from their further service, we shall still find pleasure in trying to find room in the corridors and vestibules of our national poor house for one more class, who, though not practising the art of beggary to the same extent as many of the guests we have already assembled in honor of poverty's victims, still find their use of it both agreeable and very remunerative, and are consequently in every way worthy of having their kinship, if not their brotherhood, acknowledged. There can be no doubt but that when the claims of our clerical beggars are fully presented and well considered, notwithstanding their high purposes and great intelligence, they will be accorded a reception as hospitable as that which their secular brothers received.

#### Beggars All and Beggary Degrades.

Of course, the pauper beggars and many of their guests are strongly opposed to the introduction of this highly esteemed class to their beggarhood, which, for some strange reason, they



regarded as degrading to the Church and its teachings, and humbly declare that they should prefer to retain all the despicableness of their beggarly condition rather than be enthroned at so great a sacrifice. We could not help honoring their Christian humility, which would rather suffer contumely and scorn than gain the esteem of men by degrading others, if such humility was not the result of illogical reasoning. It is true, those who beg in the name and by the power of the Church beg almost always for a good cause, at least in the opinion of those who give what is begged for; but if begging is estimable for a good cause, will our beggarly objectors tell us why it becomes despicable to beg for a cause which is still worthier. Can it be more divine, more humane, to beg for the money to cancel the debt of a church than to beg for the food, or the money to obtain the food, on which the life of man depends? "The former is God's cause," the objectors maintain, and they declare that the purpose justifies and ennobles the method. This is undeniable. But will our beggarly opponents tell us where God teaches that the erection of His temple, or the grandeur and eloquence of His service within it, are of more moment to Him than the well-being and happiness of his children? If God's teachings are studied with reason, we feel sure that all our beggar friends will admit that it is no more despicable to beg for the support of wife and children than it is to beg for the wages of the minister or the chorister or the sexton; that the sick pauper in your neighborhood, or the maimed workingman at your door, is no more degraded by his personal appeal for assistance than is the minister or priest, who, making the cause of the destitute and suffering his own, begs in the name of the church which he represents for the relief which he desires to bestow. So, if there be room for our clerical beggars in an already crowded Beggardom, there surely can be no sufficient reason why they should refuse to enter, nor can any good reason be assigned why they should not be welcomed as kin by all who live and thrive by beggary.

**Beggary no Heritage of Freedom, But of Ill-Government.—  
Ill-Government That Makes Want.**

And now, thanking our pauper friends for their graciousness in having allowed us to entertain them with so many of their beggarly relations, with all of whom we have been long acquainted, and hoping that the honors of hostship to the company that misery loves, will not engender in them any of the ignoble traits of meaner, less necessitous, more respectable beggars, we cheerfully leave to them the task of establishing more firmly that bond of friendship and sympathy with their fellow beggars, which will prove, what we have earnestly tried to show, that want made brothers, as well as beggars, of them all.

**So What Be the Escape From Beggardom?**

In time, when dissatisfied ones from the beggarly ranks of pauperism, indigency, greed and zeal become solicitous to know what freedom is, and how it can be realized, may this beggars' symposium help them to understand that a "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" can never be defined as a right to beg for that on which to live, a liberty to beg for much or little, and a pursuit of that happiness which only an escape from poverty offers; that want and the fear of want, threatening all, the direct result of ill-government, makes mendicants not only of the despised paupers, but of the most respected citizens; and that though men may be free to beg, and may by beggary even escape the poverty and starvation they so much dread, yet beggary forms no part and can be no heritage of freedom.

**PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.**

- GENERAL SHERMAN. By General Manning F. Force. Great Commanders' Series. Pp. 353. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- THE STORY OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY. How the World Became Known. By Joseph Jacobs. Pp. 200, with maps. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.
- THE DOWNFALL OF THE DERVISHES, or, The Avenging of Gordon. By Ernest N. Bennett. Pp. 255, with portrait and maps. New York: New Amsterdam Book Company. \$1.40.
- SCHOOLED BY THE WORLD. By S. P. Chalfant. Pp. 363. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.
- THE CONFOUNDING OF CAMELIA. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Pp. 309. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- THE BALLAD OF READING GAOL. By C. 3. 3. (Oscar Wilde). Pp. 44. New York: Benj. R. Tucker. 10 cents.

**BOOK REVIEWS.**

**A Study of the Causes of the French Revolution.**

*The Eve of the French Revolution.* By EDWARD J. LOWELL. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

There may be said to be two methods of writing history. They are quite distinct. One is to relate the crowning acts, to describe battles, massacres, pageants, in fact all that is most in evidence; the other is to trace the causes that have produced these things, to show what led up to them and what significance they had. Doubtless the first kind of history appeals to the largest number, because replete with exciting incident, but it is only by studying history in the latter way that it is possible to obtain that comprehension of it which enables us to fully profit by its teachings. And after all this is the greatest value history has to us, greatest because it is a living value and one capable of being used for our present and future benefit. History, then, should be studied with a view of escaping the pitfalls that have brought disaster in the past. This is not to say that the great events and acts should be neglected, on the contrary they should be studied, but in doing this it is best to consider them not as of themselves alone but in connection with what led up to them and as to the effect they had on what came after. It really matters very little now whether there were 5,000 or 50,000 men killed at Tours; the question that chiefly concerns us is not that it was a great battle, but that as its direct result the Moors were driven from Western Europe and with them Mahometanism. Again, in the French Revolution the beheading of Louis XVI. and the Reign of Terror will always stand out, but they were in fact only passing and in one sense trivial episodes in that great movement. Louis was a very mediocre individual; there were many men in France who were his peers, many who took a far greater and more important part in the Revolution, yet in the popular mind the execution of this poor, weak, vacillating Louis takes the dominant place. Unquestionably it was an event of great consequence, but its true importance lay not in the killing, but in what that signified—the final and complete overthrow of what had been. Therefore, if we would appreciate at its actual worth the beheading of Louis XVI. we must know what he stood for, what his position as king was and how that position had been built, what were his surroundings, what the French people were, what the conditions that existed throughout the country and among all classes of its inhabitants, and finally what were the immediate causes that brought on the great upheaval that so violently overturned the old order of things.

This is what Mr. Lowell has undertaken to do. In some respects the impression his book gives of pre-revolutionary conditions is quite different from that conveyed by most writers. We have particular reference to the state of the rural population. Mr. Lowell finds their condition hard, but "better than that of the greater part of mankind" of that time. He further says that "prosperity was growing. The peasants' taxes were constantly getting heavier, but his means of bearing them increased faster yet." In some sections there was great distress, in others the people lived well by the gauge of those days, but on the whole their condition is painted as not unbearable. What was their greatest hardship? A system of taxation at once unequal and unjust in the extreme. The peasant paid a tax out of all proportion to his share and his ability to pay; the noble found means to evade in large measure such taxes as were imposed upon him, while the clergy in a direct sense paid no taxes at all. But this exemption was partly made good by lump gifts from the church to the crown. This policy had been inaugurated by the church at least two centuries earlier, at a time when its property was threatened with taxation, as a much lesser evil, first in that it afforded a means of evading its just share of the costs of government, and second in that it placed the king under a certain obligation and tended to keep him on good behavior toward the church.

But let us examine a little closer into the tax system of old France. Its whole tendency was toward a per capita tax on the poorer classes. The rich were not taxed proportionately to the benefits they received from government, and as above said often succeeded in evading payment of what the law did require of them. But there is yet another phase. The taxes levied upon the common people were of a cumulative nature—that is, a commune had to pay so much and if in its collection some one paid less than his share—as all strove to do—from some one else was exacted more than his proportionate tax to make good the deficiency caused by the dishonesty of his shrewder neighbor.

The taxes were also apportioned among the different provinces in an entirely arbitrary manner, and then farmed out for collection after the old way. Just how much was wrung from the people will probably never be known. Summing up, the author says: "We may guess that the burden was too large, we may be sure that it was ill-distributed, yet under it prosperity and population were slowly increasing." Elsewhere we find Mr. Lowell's explanation of the discontent that existed throughout France. "But while France was great, prosperous and growing, and a model to her neighbors, she was deeply discontented. The condition of other countries was less good than hers, but the minds of the people of those countries had not risen above their condition. France had become conscious that her government did not correspond to her degree of civilization." This, doubtless, was one reason and a potent factor in the general unrest, but unless there had been grave abuses, unless the people had suffered under burdens very real, burdens past endurance, the seeds sown by the philosophers would not have sprouted with such vigor and the Revolution would not have been. Where men are comfortable, even measurably so, and have hopes of better things in the natural course of events, they are not likely to create a disturbance in which they may lose that which they already have. But where there is oppression and that despair which comes from grievous overburdening, they are ready for anything which may better their condition, knowing that in any event they have nothing to lose.

One thing Mr. Lowell does that is very essential to a correct understanding of the social system in old France—and without this understanding it is impossible to arrive at any sound understanding of the birth of the Revolution—he takes pains to make clear just what each of the three classes was and of what component elements each was composed. We have become so accustomed to take the English aristocracy for comparison that the author does well to distinguish between it and the French noblesse. With the latter all the children were nobles. Then, too, entrance into this privileged class was open to anyone who had money to pay for the honor and distinction of living on others and doing nothing, for broadly speaking this about describes the life of the French noble, even though he may have held a commission in the army or a place in the judiciary. But it is still more important to appreciate precisely what the Third Estate was, for from it came the life and force of the Revolution. "This order comprised the rich banker and the beggar at his gate, the learned encyclopedist and the water carrier that could not spell his name. Every layman, not of noble blood, belonged to the Third Estate."

Mr. Lowell gives a very interesting and instructive account of social conditions in Paris, the provincial towns and rural districts, and an equally good picture of the Paris of that time, showing how it looked and what it was not only to France but all Europe as well. When the Revolution finally breaks forth the scene is laid so constantly in Paris that attention becomes centered there to the exclusion of almost the rest of France, and as the ill-fed, ill-clothed masses pour out from the poor quarters of the city it is easy to imagine they but represent the poorer classes throughout the kingdom. To some extent this is true, yet it should be remembered that great cities always contain a considerable floating population recruited largely from the worst elements of society, and that in times of general distress this class is greatly augmented by the unemployed of the country who gradually drift to the large cities. So while there was assuredly great poverty, hardship and discontent throughout France, the condition of the poor in Paris was undoubtedly infinitely worse, and therefore if we judge by the latter our conclusions will naturally be exaggerated. If previous historians have overdrawn the conditions of distress prevailing among the peasantry of France, as our author seems to believe, we are at a loss to account for their error unless on this ground.

The chapters devoted to a discussion of the theories and work of the philosophers show a keen appreciation of the great work these men accomplished, and likewise of the harmful results that naturally followed their mistaken views on some vital questions in the conduct of life and society. It is easy to see how the environment of these remarkable men biased their minds and warped their understanding of life in some particulars. Nevertheless they wrought a great work and one immensely to the benefit of mankind. The then prevalent looseness of morals was no doubt accentuated by their teachings, but the work of overthrowing the old order of things was a vast and most important one, and once the debris of the consequent disturbances was cleared away and the newly freed people sobered down, the excesses and uncertainties always accompanying any violent

transition likewise passed away. The influence of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot and others in creating and moulding public opinion is carefully traced.

We find some statements and conclusions expressed by the author which we cannot concur in. For example in summing up a discussion on the "Contrat Social," he remarks that in it Rousseau "brought together several of the most dangerous errors which have afflicted modern society. The people, according to him, is not only all powerful, but always righteous; sometimes deceived, but never corrupt." While this is hardly the place to enter into a discussion of these questions, we feel obliged to differ with Mr. Lowell, even as we hold that the freely expressed will of an enlightened and patriotic citizenship is far safer than the judgment of even "the best of the persons who compose it." A people may act without due consideration and so blunder, but they will not voluntarily persist in a course that is ruinous to their interests. And as to the men best fitted to guide public affairs there is this to be said. Under a democratic form of government the people are quick to appreciate what is good, and the opinions and advice of the wise man are sure of an attentive hearing and careful consideration. Thus does the community obtain the full advantage of his wisdom and foresight while reserving to itself the right to decide what best to do. Of late we have remarked a tendency among literary men to draw away from democratic principles, and in so far as Mr. Lowell does the same to precisely that extent do we find his work and conclusions faulty.

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#### A Sociological Study of City Life.

*McTeague. A Story of San Francisco.* By FRANK NORRIS. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50

The book before us marks a complete departure in the art of story writing and is one that brings home to the public with great force new and as yet untouched fields of romance. The every day novel has so generally dealt with the high and glittering things of life that we have been all more or less educated to this style of writing. Novels are written so much along the same line that one can usually tell pretty clearly what the outcome of the plot will be before he has turned a dozen pages. To say the least, this class of book grows rather tiresome at times, but then the true novel lover delights in the coming of the heroic prince and his love for the beautiful princess for it carries him out of and above the troubles and trials of every day life. For many years we have waited the coming of some tale that shall put before us clearly the lives, the hopes, the pleasures and the disappointments of those who live by the sweat of their brows. Go among the great plain people and one can find ample data from which to write a truthful and altogether beautiful romance. Surely we can gather as much inspiration from the struggles of some farmer as we can from the battles of a money king in his endeavors to win a fortune. Is not the love of the mechanic's son for his farmer neighbor's daughter as sweet, as true, as sublime as is that of the foreign duke for an American heiress? Go out on the farms and into the shops and you will there find the industry, the honesty and the purity from which to draw a beautiful and elevating story, and one that will live after the stories of so called high life have been consigned to the grave. The book that properly introduces these working people is the book to which all will turn to find the true American.

Mr. Norris could give us such a book if he chose. He knows the people well. No one could know them better. However, he goes one step further and writes a story of the San Francisco poor, a class of people much inferior to our sturdy worker of the shop and farm. This being so we must naturally expect to find the characters presented quite low, gross and somewhat depraved. "McTeague" boldly speaks out for itself and we are carried, whether we would or not, into the daily lives of the town population of the distinctively Pacific coast city. One cannot read this book without realizing as never before the awful drudgery and painful lack of real pleasure among the poor of a great city. Again and again does our young Harvard graduate bring before us the same picture until at last we see he has by mere persistence burnt his lesson into our very lives. The reader is carried along with the story and finally he perceives that he has been started on a course of study the existence of which he knew not of. The graphic pictures presented of the miser are about as realistic and disgusting as is possible in cold type and we realize again that "the love of money is the root of all evil." We are free to say that Mr. Norris has written a book the like of which is seldom seen, and if our people are alive to the conditions that



confront them, his work will not fall on barren soil. It is certainly a most notable production and the reader will have many disquieting questions to settle in his mind ere he forget it.

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#### Spirit of the Marseillaise.

*Vicomte De Puujoli.* A Romance of the French Revolution. By JULES CLARETIE, Englished by Emma M. Phelps. New York: R. F. Penno & Co. 75cents.

In the future we may look for some one to startle the world, and rattle the old dry bones of the unbeliever by presenting a real living picture of the stormy days of the French Revolution. From out of the midst of the many will arise one who will dare to speak out boldly the unknown truths of that greatest of epoch making periods. Then, and not till then, shall we have a history of the great revolution that will treat it from the standpoint of the common people, the sons of toil. Without question more has been said and written of the days of 1789-94 than of any other event known to history, but with painful regularity authors have approached their subject in a condemning manner, seemingly fearful lest they might be charged with upholding the actions and the men who were brave enough to sacrifice life and property that man might be free. The patriotic men who lived, worked and died in their efforts to make Frenchmen realize the criminal injustice of the ruling classes of France under which they lived, have been vilified, traduced and slandered as men ever have been who strike at existing conditions and for the brotherhood of man. Our children are taken at an early age and taught to look at the efforts of these men with scorn and to speak of them as the most blood-thirsty and dark-dyed villains that have ever cursed a nation. We recognize at its full value the deplorable fact that the leaders of the French Revolution at times overstepped the bounds of justice and gave full swing to the awful passion of revenge thereby bringing down upon their cause the censure of many otherwise friends. But can we wonder at this? When a people has been held down to a position of hopeless slavery in fact if not in name, when a father has nothing to bequeath to his child save a life of absolute drudgery, and when the ruling classes flaunt their luxury, their pride, their baseness in the very eyes of those whom they have robbed and crushed, what can we expect? When such a people rise in their might and come again into their own, and when the long dormant but slumbering passion of revenge is aroused things must happen too awful to contemplate. The French people were working out their salvation through the revolution with marked calmness and mildness, their councils were showing that a people can forgive and forget. At this point the foes of liberty cast the burning brand into the powder magazine by calling on their friends beyond the frontier to crush out the seeds of revolution, of liberty, of equality, of fraternity, and to again restore the hated monarchy. Not until France was beset by foes both at home and abroad, not until then did the wise and cool-headed leaders of the revolution lose control of the situation. Surrounded on all sides by enemies, with huge armies already across her borders, the young giant France arose at the cry "the country is in danger" and singing the immortal Marseillaise and inspired with the spirit of "men who knew how to die," hurled back the invader at every point. Then France in the hour of victory was forced to crush out rebellion at home, children grasped the opportunity to strike their parent at the moment of peril and darkness. We repeat, is it any wonder that death and vengeance was visited at times on the suspected? Give but a little study to this period of French history and you will be convinced that it was one of the most potent for progress in the history of the world. The work done then spread all over Europe and when the dark cloud of war had finally passed away it was to leave behind a happier and brighter world.

He who is inclined to take exception to our remarks will find great pleasure in reading the present book. Jules Claretie looks at the revolution through the colored glasses of the nobility worshiper and has made quite a plausible case for his clients. He has given a very good story full of life and action, but the reader will notice he has also taken pains to teach a lesson.

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#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*The Story of Geographical Discovery.* By JOSEPH JACOBS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.

This little volume makes at once a very handy compendium of information regarding the geographical discovery of the world, and a brief yet complete record of our knowledge on the subject from earliest times up to the immediate present. It is so easy to become absorbed in what most nearly concerns us and to forget the past that we are very prone to overlook what has gone before and to avail of the results of the work of those who have builded through the ages for us without considering what we owe to their efforts. Perhaps no branch of study brings this more home to us than what we may term progressive geography.

All know that America was first permanently discovered by Europeans in 1492. It was a great accomplishment and a long step forward in geographical knowledge. But how many stop to consider the daring expeditions of the ancients into then new lands and seas, and the foundation of geography they laid? Another thought that presents itself is concerning the motive or motives which have led men to explore the world. While the spirit of adventure has always played its part, two other motives have been the predominant ones. First, both in point of time and importance, comes the desire for riches, which in early times took the form of forcible despoilment of "discovered" lands and their inhabitants, and later of trade; second, a higher and unselfish motive, that of scientific research. Naturally the latter is of recent origin, and even to this day it has not replaced its more sordid half brother. Until the first voyage of Captain Cook, in 1769, Prince Henry the Navigator was about the only one, unless we are to include one or two Ancients, who prosecuted exploration for anything but commercial ends. Indeed, it may almost be said that to the Anglo-Saxon alone belongs the credit of undertaking expeditions exclusively for purposes of research.

Mr. Jacobs does not overlook these points. He has compiled a book of interest as well as instruction and has done his work carefully and conscientiously. The book is much more substantial than might be inferred from the word "story" in its title, indeed it would make an excellent text book for use in higher schools. On p. 34 the "descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet" are spoken of as "corresponding, roughly, to Asia, Europe, and Africa." In the next edition it will be well to transpose Africa and Europe. The twenty-four maps are a feature of the book, and together give a good panoramic view of the development of the science of geography.

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*The Princess' Wedding Feast; or, the Wind Spirit of Woenfels.* By HELEN WATSON BECK. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.

In days not long ago the belief in spirits, ghosts and other supernatural things was quite firmly implanted in the breasts of the poor deluded and superstitious people. Our forefathers could see in the tint of a cloud some hidden meaning, and we are told that the famous Roman Emperor Constantine was converted to Christianity by seeing a burning cross in a rainbow. The common sense of to-day has pretty well dispelled the miraculous illusions of our ancestors, but, strange to say, in this book we find the same old disquieting phantoms astir. We find the author has been in close communion with the spirit of the wind and that the poor restless spirit has at last found a friend to transcribe its tale. We tremble to think what might become of us were we to anger the spirits, and lest we say anything disrespectful of these terrible beings we will say no more.

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*The Amateur Cracksman.* By E. W. HORNING. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

We are so well acquainted with the detective stories that have flooded the country for many seasons that we find our one time relish quite worn off, particularly as there has never been but one Sherlock Holmes. Hence it is with great satisfaction and pleasure that we turn to the latest story of Mr. Horning. Here we find the subject approached from the standpoint of the criminal himself, and we are given the supposed motives and feelings of the man who lives by robbery and perhaps murder. To understand anything with thoroughness and to treat a study fairly one must look at both sides of the question. As we have already mentioned we have the story of crime told and retold by countless authors until we feel that we are very well versed in the art of detection, and now, in "The Amateur Cracksman," we get

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another view. Mr. Hornung strikes high, and his chief character is taken from among the blooded gentlemen who frequent the fashionable clubs, and whose sphere of acquaintance is among the leaders of society. Raffles, the gentleman we have reference to, is a rogue of exquisite and rare grace, smart, cool, easy, always daring, in fact, the brilliant fellow. Read but one chapter and you will find yourself gradually succumbing to the excitement of the midnight robbery, and eagerly sympathizing with the dare-devil thief and gentleman. The author makes good use of his hero, and shows how easy it is for one to drift from a small offence to a greater, how when once the passion is born it is practically master, like the consuming desire of the tiger for human blood when once tasted. In this book Mr. Hornung shows again his ability and originality as a story writer.

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*Der Letzte.* By ERNEST VON WILDENBRUCH. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by F. G. G. Schmidt. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

It makes one almost sad to think of being alone in a grand house or magnificent castle. And somewhat similar seems the idea of standing isolated in the dominion of thought. In comparing the last forty or fifty years it becomes more and more a matter of fact that there are no more great prose writers in German literature. There is a wholesale manufacture of cheap literature of which this *fin de siècle* is so famous in almost every language and country. The statement has often been made that Ernst von Wildenbruch is the man standing alone on the vast field of German prose. Whether this statement is to be affirmed in every sense of its meaning is not exactly certain and has not been fully and competently decided upon, but Wildenbruch is unquestionably famous for his own grand style and form as a writer to day. He ranks among the best dramatists and his fame as novelist stands foremost in Germany.

The young student whose taste and style in literature is usually formed from the readings which are selected for him at college, and who gets an early impression of foreign authors only by the selections he has read will appreciate in this little story the beautiful form, elegant style with which the author expresses himself. Form and style make the writer to some extent. And because of this Wildenbruch is acknowledged to be the foremost prose writer of his country. Dr. Schmidt, professor of modern languages in the State University of Oregon, could have selected no better prose for students. Many impressive and pathetic descriptions will be found in this story which is but a small selection from the series, entitled "Kinderthranen." (Children's Tears.) We are ever moved and always feel sad over the troubles of others, especially where they are helpless as children. And so we appreciate with keen interest every movement in this story, which is a thrilling tale of child's and father's woe.

Professor Schmidt has edited this book for college use with an elaborate introduction and very useful notes. What is of special value to young students is the short but interesting biographical sketch of the author, who is enjoying great popularity as a prose writer and dramatist in Berlin.

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*La Tulip Noire.* By ALEXANDRE DUMAS. Abridged and edited by C. Fontaine. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 40 cents.

To be privileged to read Alexandre Dumas in his own language is the high ambition of not a few. And a worthy ambition it is, for not many French writers have been endowed with so vivid an imagination, such power of description, and what is more, with such fascinating originality as was this son of Africa, whence he originated, as his biographer tells us. Dumas ranks among the most productive spirits of this century, and his works, like himself, are intensely and unusually interesting.

Dumas' novels are long. Few American college students can be made to fully understand them and still less fully to appreciate everything he describes in a novel. This obstacle has been met in this instance very successfully. Professor Fontaine, Director of French and Spanish instruction in the High Schools of Washington, D. C., has abridged and edited "La Tulip Noire" to about one-fourth of its original size, in order thus to meet the needs of the class room. While the non-essentials have been omitted as far as feasible, the charming and thrilling tale has been preserved in its entirety.

The novel is re-arranged in thirty-two parts or chapters, each of which is more or less appended by very useful notes in the back. The introduction gives a concise and historic sketch of Dumas. Professor Fontaine mentions also some of Dumas' best known novels and dramas, which, he claims, made the writer and upon

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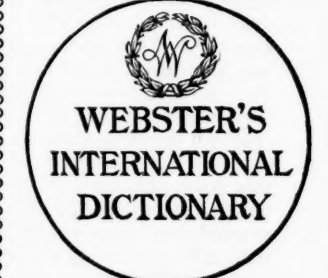
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which his (Dumas') reputation rests. The Professor being an authority in French literature, we cite the works he names, thinking it may be of benefit to those of our readers who are interested in the French language. Novels: "Les Trois Mousquetaires," "Vingt Ans Après," "Le Vicomte de Bragelone," "Le Comte de Monte-Cristo," "La Reine Margot." Dramas: "Henry III. et sa Cour," "La Tour de Nesle," "Antony," "Angèle," "Urbain Grandier."

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*La Cigale Chez les Fourmis.* By EUGÈNE LABICHE AND ERNEST LEGOUVÉ. Edited with notes and vocabulary by Thomas J. Farrar. New York: American Book Company. 25c.

*Introductory French Prose Composition.* By VICTOR E. FRANÇOIS. Same publishers. 25c.

*Selected Letters of Madame de Sevigne.* Edited for school use by L. C. SYMS. Same publishers. 40c.

These three charming little French school books for the use of second year's students deserve to meet with special success because of the excellent selection made. Each book can be used separately or all the three at the same time, as each treats a different subject in the way of easy comedy, composition and well written prose. "La Cigale Chez les Fourmis" is a well known little comedy in one act. Professor Thomas J. Farrar, instructor of French in the Washington and Lee University, has certainly made the right choice for a class of young readers. The plot is taken from La Fontaine's famous fable, being an adoption from *Æsop*. "The Introductory French Prose Composition" is a school book for students who have studied grammar already and are familiar with it. It is a well arranged book, and by looking it over one can detect the thorough teacher at once. Professor Victor E. Francois, instructor in French in the University of Michigan, gives here ample work to his students at home, where they must prepare aloud the different exercises in transposition, questions, grammar drill and the translation of each lesson. "The Selected Letters of Madame de Sevigne" is a highly interesting book for more mature and older students. These letters, preserved ever since the seventeenth century, have won for her a high place in the history of French literature, besides giving her a universal popularity. They not only contain a beautiful description of maternal love, but they draw excellent pictures of aristocratic society of that age, giving interesting information about history and gossip, king and court, peace and war, Paris and the provinces, authors and their works. Professor L. C. Syms, who is instructor of French in the Boys' High School, of New York, and author of "First, Second and Third Years in French," has found it more advisable to join together parts of several letters in order to more clearly concentrate the reader's attention on one particular subject.

Each one of these three books has an interesting introductory, gives a useful number of notes with a lengthy vocabulary in the back, which makes both the seeking and finding of words, idioms and expressions or dialogues quite easy.

\*.\*

*Elements of the Differential Calculus.* By JAMES McMAHON and VIRGIL SNYDER. New York American Book Company. \$2.

A new book of unusual interest for mathematical students enriches the well-known "Cornell Mathematical Series," of which Dr. Lucien Augustus Wait, senior Professor of Mathematics in Cornell University, is general editor. This new publication is the third of the series mentioned above, which has found worthy publishers in the American Book Company, and which, it is hoped, will find a ready market throughout the science loving and science teaching world.

The book is primarily designed as a text. Every such book has one special significance, however, and one aim. This book, therefore, claims chiefly to meet the wants and requirements of the average student, who will find that too rigorous proof and the more extensive treatises have been omitted here, leaving only that one particular which is so essential, namely: plausible explanations with numerous examples, plainly illustrating all the principles pertaining to the Differential Calculus.

The various chapters have been so treated as to round each one up perfect in itself, thus making the entire book with its 19 chapters and 178 different articles as concise a book for the requirements of college and university as may be expected. The authors give due acknowledgment to their colleagues abroad and at home, and refer to the various works whence examples had been taken, but, while many of these have been selected from other similar works, they claim the largest number

to be new and original. Every figure in this book has been made for this special purpose and drawn to scale, except that in some cases vertical ordinates are proportionately foreshortened to fit the page. A lengthy appendix with various notes, over 150 answers carefully selected, and a general index to terms, etc., completes this "Elements of the Differential Calculus."

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#### A Word On the Santiago Campaign.

In a recent issue we reviewed an excellent book entitled "In Cuba With Shafter," by Lieutenant-Colonel John D. Miley, who was, it will be remembered, Aide-de-Camp to General Shafter, and one of the three officers who negotiated the surrender of the Spanish army under General Toral. Our notice of the book brought the following very interesting letter, which we take pleasure in publishing:

Editor of THE AMERICAN:

DEAR SIR:—My husband is in the Philippines serving upon General Lawton's staff. If he were at home I think the only comment he would have to make is in regard to what you say about the lack of food. There was never a lack of commissary stores at Siboney. The whole trouble lay in the great difficulty in getting these supplies to the troops at the front. This was due to the terrible condition of the roads and the lack of transportation, for though the transports were loaded at Tampa to their utmost capacity "there were barely enough wagons and pack trains for the command under favorable circumstances," (p. 87) but with the roads in such a condition and with animals and teamsters continually falling sick, the transportation question became one of the most serious the commanding general had to face. He telegraphed the Secretary on July 3rd, "that while waiting for reinforcements he was afraid he could not supply the army in its present advanced position" (p. 125). I will forward your review to Colonel Miley and I am sure he will want me to thank you in his name,

Yours truly,

SARA H. MILEY.

Governor's Island, N. Y., March 25, 1899.

## The Truth About Catarrh.

Deputy U. S. Marshal William T. Harness of Ohio, writes to Dr. Hartman.

**M**ULTITUDES of men are cursed with catarrh. The disgusting disease gets hold and clings; it baffles all local treatment; it penetrates to every organ of the body. It is consumption! It is gastritis! Its names are legion. The man with catarrh of the stomach, commonly called indigestion, knows what suffering is. His enemy is always with him; it haunts him at the table; it follows him when he lies down to rest.

"Relief" is eagerly sought and paid for in suffering. William T. Harness, Deputy United States Marshal Southern District of Ohio, is completely cured of catarrh of the head and stomach by Dr. Hartman's treatment. Mr. Harness, whose picture is printed here, is one of the best known and most popular democrats in Southern Ohio, his popularity being fully demonstrated by his election for three successive terms to office in the republican county of Washington. He was appointed Deputy United States Marshal during the administration of President Cleveland, and his record in that office has been an enviable one.

OFFICE OF UNITED STATES MARSHAL, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO, CINCINNATI, O., Sept. 6, 1897.

Dr. Hartman, Pres. Pe-ru-na Medicine Co., Columbus, O.

DEAR SIR:—It affords me much pleasure to bear testimony to the worth of your medicines, Pe-ru-na and Man-a-lin. I have been troubled with catarrh of the head and stomach; I have used many of the best known and most widely advertised medicines but found no permanent relief. About one year ago I began to take your Pe-ru-na and I am pleased to say that I now consider myself completely cured of catarrh. I was also troubled with indigestion, and have used your Man-a-lin for four months, but have no trouble from that source any more.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM T. HARNESS.

## ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

*Mind* for April has lost nothing of the thoughtful character which has earned for it a distinct position in the magazine world. It contains two articles which are especially deserving of careful reading, one on "Spiritual Marriage," and the other entitled "Happiness as a Duty." These offer much that can be acted upon to advantage in the conduct of life.

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The Macmillan Company have in press for immediate publication "Men's Tragedies," a volume of short stories dealing with "the realisms of idealists—strong, high, pure, and desolate men"; and "The Short Line War," a western railroad story by Merwin Webster. They are also about to issue "Old Cambridge," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the first volume of a series of "National Studies in American Letters" designed to present the history and development of our literature during its first century in a form sufficiently various and many-sided to comprehend its many phases and their particular relation to historical movements, social conditions, localities, differences of origin, temperament and environment.

\*\*

Dodd, Mead & Co. will publish shortly a volume of the collected poems of Harry Thurston Peck, which will be entitled "Gray Stones and Porphyry." They will publish in the fall a second volume of Professor Peck's literary and critical essays, for which the title is not yet settled. It will contain papers on various French and English authors, including Balzac and Tennyson, also some that deal with questions of linguistic usage in English.

\*\*

Charles Scribner's Sons have just published a new book that will doubtless prove of interest, as well as be a servicable companion to many who will soon be seeking the healthful joys of a morning's ramble in the country reawakened by the touch of spring. It is "How to Know the Ferns," by Frances Theodora Parsons, author of "How to Know the Wild Flowers," illustrated by Marion Satterlee and Alice J. Smith.

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W. L. Aldin, writing in the *New York Times*, says: "Those who know Kipling personally know that he is the kindest and most unselfish man breathing. To him have come scores of young writers for help, counsel and encouragement, and they have never failed to receive it. There never was a successful man so utterly unspoiled by success as Kipling. The beautiful simplicity of his nature has never been dimmed. There are men in London to-day who owe their entire success to the encouragement and help that Kipling gave them when they were in despair. Because he has always insisted that his acts of kindness should remain unknown, the anecdotes that many men would gladly and gratefully publish will never see the light. But had Kipling been lost to us, it would not have been only the greater story-writer, the great poet, and the great spokesman of the British race that would have been missed. Hundreds of men would have lost a noble, generous friend."

\*\*

The following from the "Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning," recently published by Harper and Brothers, suggests some thoughts which are worth following out to their ultimate conclusions.

"Now for my part, I do believe that the worst tempered persons in the world are less so through sensibility than selfishness—they spare nobody's heart on the ground of being themselves pricked by a straw. Now, see if it isn't so. What after all is a good temper but generosity in trifles—and what, without it, is the happiness of life? We have only to look round us. I saw a woman once burst into tears because her husband cut the bread and butter too thick. I saw that with my own eyes. Was it sensibility, I wonder! They were at least real tears that ran down her cheeks. 'You always do it,' she said."

\*\*

A recent issue of the *New York Times* gives a very appreciative review of Rudyard Kipling's position in literature, and his hold on those who know his works. We take the following extracts from the article:

"At the age of thirty-three Rudyard Kipling has attained the dignity of being a classic. \* \* \* He belongs among those few chosen writers whose direct personal influence continues to

be felt for all time, regardless of changing taste and customs. But serious thought must convince us that he belongs among this class by virtue of a smaller portion of his writings than his ardent admirers would have us believe. \* \* \*

"Mr. Kipling has attempted all kinds of creative literature except dramatic, and all of his attempts have been noteworthy. In fact, everything to which he puts his hand bears the unmistakable mark of genius, but up to the present time it has rarely been that of genius at its highest development. 'The Seven Seas' and 'The Day's Work,' should convince one that the writer has but entered on his full maturity. There is a grasp and security in these poems and stories which show that his best and most permanent work is yet to come. \* \* \*

"As a poet Mr. Kipling's fame is secure. His verse has struck the imagination of the people, has passed into their speech, so that hardly any writer, living or dead, is so much quoted. He has sung about simple, everyday things in language that all can understand and feel; he has made himself the laureate of the Anglo-Saxon race."

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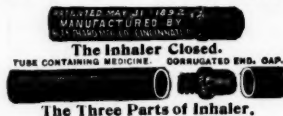
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## Notice to the Reform Press.

The next annual session of the National Reform Press Association is called to meet at Kansas City on May 16. I want the addresses of all editors of papers advocating the principles of the Peoples party, in order that I may communicate with them further about the forthcoming meeting. Proceedings of last year's session, and the Constitution and By-Laws will be sent to all who desire them. Every reform editor should belong to this Association, "for in unity there is strength." If you are in harmony with the purposes of our Association, write to me at once.

JO A. PARKER,

Recording Secretary, Paris, Tex.

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